a service of the
GENERAL BOARD OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERNS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

CONCERN

Dateline August 1, 1961

The United States and the Soviet Union have opened the second round of their disarmament talks in Moscow.

The talks, which began in Washington in June, are aimed at establishing a formula for the negotiations and when they will be held. According to a UN resolution, the two powers are supposed to reach a decision by August 1.

The Moscow discussions opened on a note of apparent disagreement. The United Nations resolution under which the talks are proceeding called on the two powers to decide who would take part in the general disarmament discussion. Russia wants to talk with just the United States while the United States does not want to discuss the substance of disarmament without Britain and France.

With the Berlin crisis deepening, Senate Foreign Policy Committee chairman Fulbright has urged African and Asian neutrals to speak out firmly for the right of self-determination for all peoples.

Neutral nations might play a great role in averting trouble over Berlin, the senator said, if they insisted that both East and West respect a people's right to determine its own form of society. He added that such a demand might have a "restraining influence upon

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GENERAL BOARD OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERNS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

- DIVISION OF TEMPERANCE AND GENERAL WELFARE
- DIVISION OF PEACE AND WORLD ORDER
- DIVISION OF HUMAN RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

THE METHODIST BUILDING
100 MARYLAND AVENUE, NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON 2, D.C. LINCOLN 6-1000

Vol. 3, No. 15 Aug. 1, 1961

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Concern is issued twice each month by the General Board of Christian Social Concerns of The Methodist Church.

Concern is a member of The Associated Church Press.

Editorial Offices are in the Methodist Building, 100 Maryland Avenue, Northeast, Washington 2, D.C. Information available from these offices.

Subscription Price is $3.00 per year in advance. Single copies are 35¢. Bulk rate (10 or more copies mailed to one address) is $2.00 per subscription. Group rate (10 or more subscriptions placed on one order but individually addressed) $2.50 per subscription. Two year subscription, $5.50; three years, $8.00. Foreign rate, $5.00 per year. Air mail edition $9.00 per year, U. S. only. Order from Service Department, 100 Maryland Avenue, Northeast, Washington 2, D.C.

Change of address information should be sent with both old and new addresses to Service Department, 100 Maryland Avenue, Northeast, Washington 2, D. C.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

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The General Secretary writes:

The concerned people of Northern Kentucky believe with Edmund Burke that "the one sure guarantee of victory for the enemy is that good men do nothing." So they have swung into action. They are waging war on crime.

In a recent rally at Newport we found more than blue grass, bourbon, and thoroughbred horses. We discovered brave men—real men—thoroughly committed to the exercise of good citizenship.

There are bad men too. So many, in fact, that aroused voters are feverishly cleaning house of vice supporters. The misfits that have been sneaked into office by the "Mafia" are being singled out for impeachment.

Racketeers who have been robbing people of money and morals are now being indicted for trial. The days and nights of gambling, prostitution, drunkenness, and blackmail are numbered.

Not, of course, without great sacrifice and villification of some courageous citizens! But they are willing to pay the price for freedom to live in decency.

The "Committee of 500," for example, is enlisting men to go to the polls, use the courts, and offer themselves for services needed to oust the rascals. They will install responsible officers.

Growing from a small group of neighbors to a large community of the concerned, there are now 3,400 active members of this bold "committee," dedicated to the disciplines that make government the instrument of power for good instead of evil.

Because these patriots are determined to restore order to their county and city governments, their chosen candidates have been assaulted by the underworld and subjected to gangsterism. The federal government has moved in to punish those who are trying to destroy civil liberties.

Let us hope that the nation will see now that you cannot allow commercial gambling without inviting corruption and abetting crime.

Meanwhile, it should be obvious to all that there are no kinds of community problems that cannot be solved if good men care enough to serve. It is still true that the only thing that prevents complete triumph of evil is what good men do!

You could inspire your local church commission to study conditions and do something to improve them. Certainly the time is here when sordid situations all about us demand action beyond the "searching of soul," with which all too many stop doing something about anything.

We've got to get angry. We must become indignant against everything that hurts people. There is a hatred that can lead to hardihood. We are admonished to "hate the evil—cleave to the good." Moffatt quotes God as saying, "I hate people who are half and half." We should love people enough to hate indifference and unconcern.

The times truly demand "hearts warm enough to melt cold wars, and cool enough to prevent a hot one."—*Caradine R. Hooton*

Anti-communism and American freedom

by John T. Cronin

In a number of past issues Concern *has carried articles dealing with the communist threat and the problems involved in anti-communism crusades. We are anxious to bring to readers constructive points of view from a variety of sources, and believe that this article by Father John T. Cronin, assistant director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, raises fundamental questions and takes constructive positions. The article was originally published in* America, *National Catholic Weekly Review.*

When this article was originally planned, it was to have been an appraisal of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the opposition to it in the form of Operation Abolition. Then came a flood of national publicity on the John Birch Society. This coincided with a rash of inquiries about the Cardinal Mindzenty Foundation and numerous reports of an intense campaign to discredit the Foreign Policy Association.

It has become increasingly clear that anti-communist activities are producing sharp divisions within our nation. There has been a surprising upsurge of interest in domestic communism. Local groups are looking for communist influence in the schools, in government and in various alleged communist-front organizations. Nor is this interest merely academic. It is usually followed up by organized reprisals against the individuals or groups concerned.

A surprising upsurge

This upsurge is surprising for many reasons. First is the fact that most students of communism report that the area of danger today is external, not domestic. The communist problem is real and critical in Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

It is so serious, in fact, that many competent observers feel that the next 10 years may be decisive. There is a distinct possibility that, within a decade, the entire Southern hemisphere may be substantially within the communist camp. If this analysis is correct, exclusive concentration upon domestic communism would be helping, not hurting, whatever plans Moscow and Peiping have.

Second there is the fact that the Communist Party in the United States has been seriously weakened in the last 10 years. Its present claimed membership is 10,000. There are reasons to believe that this figure is exaggerated. The *Daily Worker* is no longer published. Only a very few communist-front groups are active. Communist influence in the labor movement is negligible. Except for attempted espionage operations, which are controlled by foreign communist governments, there is no evidence of current communist penetration into government or the armed forces.

It is astonishing that well-financed movements exist today to fight this drastically weakened Communist Party here. When the threat was far greater, during the United Front period beginning in 1935 and concluding with the Korean War, it was almost impossible to obtain substan-

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tial private funds for educating the public to the danger of communism.

Yet, at that time, communist penetration into such areas as labor, education, government, entertainment, and communication was quite serious. Abundant documentation for this statement can be found in carefully conducted hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, held during the late 1940's.

An unusual definition

Perhaps the best explanation of this paradox is to be found in the unusual definition of communism accepted by many of the anti-communist groups that are so active today. Some of them, at least, operate on the premise that the expanded activities of the federal government are leading us to communism in at least two ways.

First, the tax drain is so serious that our nation is becoming weakened, and hence its ability to withstand communist aggression is being dangerously compromised. Second, some of the specific activities of government in the social-welfare field are alleged to be driving us to socialism, which these groups regard as the first stage of communism.

If these opinions were advanced merely as intellectual or political positions of dissent, they would create little public concern. Substantially similar views have been advocated for many years by such reputable groups as the Foundation for Economic Education, various associations of business, and the conservative wings of the Democratic and Republican parties.

These groups generally oppose big government. If they consider certain measures unwise or even socialistic, they may legitimately argue that proponents of these measures are inadvertently weakening our nation and hence making a communist takeover more feasible. They question the judgment of the political opposition, not its loyalty.

The key distinction here concerns motives. Surely, one can sharply disagree, for instance, with the admirable proposals for foreign aid recently submitted by President Kennedy without impugning his patriotism. This writer happens to believe that a program of this nature is essential to save much of the world from communism. But he would scarcely contend that its opponents are in the pay of the Kremlin.

Opponents loyality hit

Unfortunately, several anti-communist organizations in the United States today not only fail to distinguish between judgment and loyalty; they actively assail the loyalty of those whose views they oppose. They envision a vast, secret, conspiratorial communist apparatus that is widely subverting government, schools and universities, research organizations, the churches, and the various media for affecting public opinion.

Nor are they willing to let their targets off with the relatively mild indictment of being unwitting dupes of the communist conspiracy. They are eager to allege formal, not merely material, guilt. Our nation is allegedly threatened by an uncounted number of secret communists and fellow travelers.

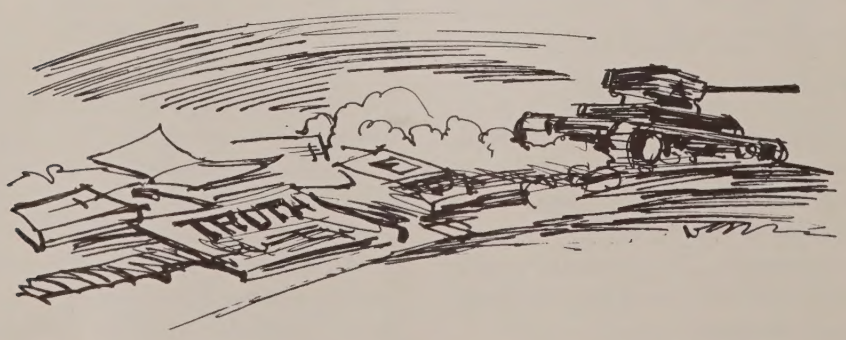
How are the suspected individuals to be identified? It may be enough to apply to them the label "liberal," whether this refers to economics or theology, and thus automatically blanket them into the communist camp.

When possible, however, it is preferable to cite some of their views indicating softness on communism or sympathy toward the movement. Since the range of these suspect views is large, the net sweeps in a large number of victims. To be suspect, one need not have gone so far as to assert that Communist China has a legal claim to membership in the United Nations on the basis of the UN Charter. It may be sufficient to have advocated cultural exchanges with communist nations or even to favor direct talks between President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev.

But what these anti-communist organizations prefer above all is to cite membership in a communist-front organization or some similar "proof of direct communist connections." Quite a few groups have files and index cards which can supply this information. Indeed, some individuals make a good living by supplying such dossiers.

The unsuspecting businessman is deeply impressed when documentation of this sort is shown to him. The next step in this process of guilt by association is to condemn a large and respectable organization because some of its officers have communist-front records. This, for example, is part of the indictment against the National Council of Churches.

There are two substantial flaws in the process just outlined. One derives from the very nature of a communist front. By definition, this is an organization *secretly* organized and controlled by the Communist Party. Its purpose is to lure unsuspecting and presumably loyal Americans into support of cleverly *disguised* communist objectives.



For this reason, the Internal Security Act of 1950 had as one of its major aims the uncovering and labeling of such front groups. The assumption was that, once communist control was clearly proved, the organization would have no further purpose of existence.

Given this analysis, membership in a true communist front—in which communist control had not been exposed—of itself proves nothing more than a mistake in judgment. An expert, in certain cases, may go further and reach some deductions about the loyalty of the person concerned. But this type of expert knowledge requires long and conscientious study of the communist movement. Amateur list checkers do not have the background to make such evaluations.

Time element ignored

A second flaw in the uncritical use of communist-front connections is the frequent ignoring of the time element involved. A person who belonged to a communist front against war and fascism before August, 1939, may have been nothing more than misguided pacifist.

But if he retained membership after the Hitler-Stalin pact, when the title "fascism" was dropped from the organization, this is a much more serious matter. To have belonged to the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship during World War II, when most propaganda organs in the United States were singing the praises of the Soviet Union, is quite different from membership in this same group during the Korean War.

Likewise, to ignore the climate of the 1940's in appraising communist connections can be very unfair. Those of us who undertook in that time the lonely and difficult task of trying to alert the American public to the real dangers of communism can appreciate the tremendous indifference or even pro-Soviet sentiment of that period. In those days there were no multi-millionaires financing anti-communist education. The voices that are so strident today were, for the most part, silent when China and much of East-

ern Europe were forced into the communist empire.

It is not merely a matter of Christian forgiveness not to judge a man today for views and connections held 15 or 20 years ago. In many cases, elementary justice is involved. There are tens of thousands of former Communist Party members who have broken irrevocably with the movement. Some of these left openly and have become articulate and public opponents of communism. Most of them remain silent and hope that their past will be forgotten. For this we cannot blame them. Only those without secret sin are in a position to demand that others make public confession and penance.

Hostility toward HUAC

The fact that hundreds of thousands of Americans had been duped by communist fronts and causes is probably the basic explanation for hostility toward the House Committee on Un-American Activities. These persons, in their younger days, may have accumulated a few connections with communist causes.

In the meantime they have outgrown their early naiveté, and now are respectable members of the academic world, or the government, or some agency that affects public opinion. When the House Committee holds hearings and "uncovers" concealed communists, these persons often react in terror. They feel like escaped convicts who have changed their names and lived respectable lives, yet still dwell in fear of the day in which they may be publicly disgraced.

From this observer's viewpoint in Washington, such fears are unfounded in regard to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Even is its earliest and less responsible days, the committee as such, in contrast to some of its publicity-minded members, did very little irresponsible muckraking.

Since 1947, it would be difficult to document a charge that official committee statements have been unfair in regard to individuals or organizations. Individual committee members have not always been so careful. But opponents of the committee should not make the mistake they condemn in extreme private anti-communist organizations, of blaming a group for the unofficial actions of some of its members.

The years 1947-1950 were the most fruitful for the House Committee. During this period it vied with the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in producing well documented exposes of communist influence in government and in other important fields of American life. It uncovered hundreds of communist-front organizations. In the course of these activities, tens of thousands of names of persons connected with communist fronts and related activities became matters of public record. These records are the main source for the activities of private groups busily engaged in "exposing communists" today.

Records misused

It is unfortunate that such records are being misused by unskilled amateurs. But the victim of such abuse cannot legitimately blame the House Committee. If he can argue that he was an innocent dupe in a different climate of opinion, the committee can also argue that it was its public duty to change that climate of opinion. We deplore the abuse of such records, but the public interest was served by the original revelations.

Since the Korean War, the House

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Committee has had leaner pickings. This is understandable because this was a period of sharp decline in Communist Party activities. The Korean War and the Cold War made Americans much more sophisticated. Labor had expelled its communist-controlled unions. The Truman loyalty program quietly separated thousands of communists and fellow travelers from government employment.

The communications media were far more careful in their hiring policies. Universities became less broad in their definition of academic freedom. Communist fronts withered on the vine. It would be inaccurate to say that there were no communist activities to expose. But the period of daily headlines was over.

The committee's most controversial activity in recent years has been "Fifth-Amendment type" hearings. It has periodically met in various communities and asked pertinent questions of individuals such as schoolteachers. When some of these "took the Fifth," they were often separated from public positions.

No private citizen has the data to judge the fairness of such actions in regard to the individuals affected. The most that an observer can say is that the committee appeared to be concerned with present communist activities, and not engaged in digging up the forgotten and repented past.

Of course, one can raise a legal question about the propriety of a legislative body engaging in exposures of this nature. In theory, these inquiries are defended as an aid to legislation. As such, they have been upheld by the courts. Yet there are more than casual indications that the main function of the committee has been exposure of communists and their activities.

A necessary work

Is this work still needed today? If the committee retains a balanced and judicial view of its task, there is a good case for its continued existence. It is helpful to have a continual survey of communist activities. The only other government agency that currently is equipped to do this work must of necessity work in secrecy.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is superbly informed on all phases of the communist problem. But its reports cannot be made public. If the House Committee were abolished, the vacuum would be filled by private groups. The activities of some of these would make such a prospect appalling.

Against this background we can judge Operation Abolition. There is no doubt that the Communist Party wants to abolish the House Committee. As we noted earlier, there are historical reasons why many influential Americans fear the possible misuse of lists linking persons to communist causes. Others, who have no personal worries, none the less decry the concept of governmental investigation into political opinion.

However, we must know by now that communist activities, whether domestic or international, do not fit into neat categories based on our past experience. Communists, in effect, are potential traitors, yet they are not necessarily guilty of provable crime. Hence judicial and police approaches are not adequate to meet this menace fully; informed exposure is essential. The House Committee on Un-American Activities has done this task much better than many of its critics realize.

Tactics can breed distrust

But the fact that communism is conspiratorial does not justify general public adoption of its tactics to cope with the problem. Those who fight "fire with fire" get burnt in the process. Dr. Karl Stern warns us:

"Vigilance in the face of evil may give rise to preoccupation with evil. . . . If we are unduly preoccupied with evil, we become evil. There is danger in giving more thought to the things that we are *against* than the things we are *for*. It is easier to distrust than to have faith. . . . We have our nose to the ground to ferret out the scent of the adversary; we have our ears to the ground to hear the distant rumbling; before we know it, something decisive has happened to us. We are no longer upright. Our gaze is no longer fixed on God and man in charity."

Communism is an external danger that demands from us the utmost in vigilance and sacrifice. But let us not be blind to the danger involved in policies of unbounded suspicion and the use of ruthless methods in so-called anti-communist activities. If we become a nation of hate and distrust, then spiritually we are like the communists. In fighting for the faith, we have lost charity. In defending our freedoms, we have ceased to be free men.

A sociologist views

Methodist action on alcohol use

by George Maddox

I intend to focus my comments arbitrarily on three aspects of Methodist temperance activity: 1) on the significance of recent changes in organization, program emphases, and literature; 2) on the importance of distinguishing between immediate and ultimate goals and 3) on the crucial importance of the local church in implementing national temperance programming.

I will speak as a sociologist who happens to be Methodist and to be sympathetic to the ultimate objective of voluntary abstinence rather than as one who appears as a detached expert with criticisms and recommendations about procedures for successful manipulation of laymen and legislators.

Moreover, my attention will be on Methodist programming and I will assume that readers are aware of alternative programs and procedures within Christendom and are aware that Methodist insistence on total abstinence is a minority position among Christians.

Finally, I have always found it intellectually necessary and useful to distinguish among drinking, drunkenness, and alcoholism; hence, my title refers not to alcoholism but to alcohol use, which includes alcoholism as a distinctive type of use.

First, let me comment briefly on the significance of recent changes in the organization, programming, and literature of the temperance and general welfare division of the Board of Christian Social Concerns.

The human predicament

Even to the most unpracticed eye the recent administrative change symbolizes an attempt to see the imperatives of the Christian life as a whole. The move calls attention both to the fact that alcohol is but one among many symptoms of the human predicament and to the peculiar and ineffective way in which some men through alcohol attempt to extricate themselves from this predicament.

Ultimately, the problem with which temperance programming attempts to deal is not liquid in a bottle—just as it is not pornographic literature, or gambling, or economic and racial injustice—but the adequacy or inadequacy of man's conception of himself and his resources for becoming the person he feels he should and must be.

The primacy of a Christian understanding of life and of a biblical faith is being re-emphasized as an integral part of current temperance education. In the past, temperance activity frequently invited the inference that what one said about and did with alcohol was determinative of one's status as a Christian, while in fact, it may often have been the other way around. One's understanding of Christianity and the adequacy of his experience within the fellowship of the church may in a significant degree be determinative of what he says about and does with alcohol.

At any rate, there seems to be a clearer understanding now than forerly that alcohol use is as much a symptom of basic human problems as it is a cause of personal and social problems. To me, the recent changes in temperance organization, programming, and literature symbolize this understanding.

Education stressed

The historic emphases of the church on commitment and prohibition have continued, but additional stress has been placed on education and rehabilitation.

I have already noted the attention given to theological and biblical understanding as important background information for a critical evaluation of the pro's and con's of alcohol use. There has also been an increased concern for factualness in educational literature.

Without questioning the motives of those who wrote the older temperance literature of the church, I must conclude that their passion for destroying the liquor traffic was not always matched by a passion for facts.

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Dr. George Maddox is visiting associate professor in sociology at the Duke University Medical Center, Durham, N. C.

A Methodist, Dr. Maddox has served as associate professor of sociology at Millsaps College, Jackson, Miss. During student days Dr. Maddox was a youth worker for the Boston, Mass., Y.M.C.A. and a minister of education at First Methodist Church, Belmont, Mass.

He has lectured at the National Adult School of Alcohol Studies sponsored by the Division of Temperance and General Welfare and is a member of the board of directors of the Mississippi Summer School of Alcohol Studies.

Dr. Maddox's provocative evaluation of Methodist action on alcohol use is of special interest because of the extensive research which he has carried on in this field as a sociologist.

This article was first presented as a paper prepared for a group of Methodist ministers attending a special training conference, sponsored by the state of Florida Alcoholic Rehabilitation Program.

***Concern** invites its readers to react and comment on the Maddox article.*

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The desire to paint a black picture of drinking and its consequences sometimes led to errors and distortions. Alcohol was poison, was the cause of almost every conceivable human problem, that first drink put one inevitably on the road to alchoholism, and so on.

In our more rational moments we know that a good case for abstinence can be made without exaggeration. No serious person will argue the virtues of alcoholism or make a very enthusiastic case for inebriety in a highly mechanized and complex society. But there is something more than an abstract attachment to truthfulness that warrants a caution against exaggeration about alcohol.

Research on techniques of persuasion indicates that educated people who have access to alternative sources of information respond negatively and suspiciously to what appear to be slanted presentations of controversial issues.

Given the increasingly middle class composition of Methodists, the concommitant rise of educational levels generally, and frequency of contact with mass media of communication and other persons reflecting variety in points of view about alcohol, the alcohol educator who hopes to be taken seriously can hardly be anything but scrupulous about his facts. Otherwise, he runs the risk of neutralizing or undermining even his strongest arguments.

Alcoholics rehabilitation

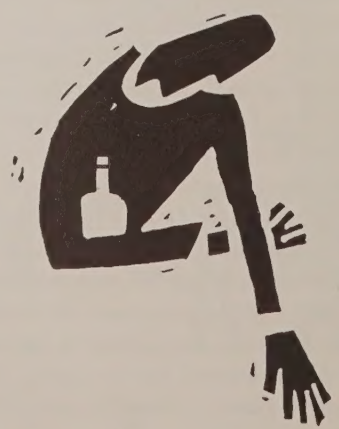
Methodist temperance programming has increasingly emphasized the rehabilitation of alcoholics as well as alcohol education. Historically Methodists have not appeared too willing to think of alcoholism as an illness, to believe that the alcoholic can be helped and ought to be helped, or to accept alcoholism as a community responsibility as well as a public health problem.

The ministry and fellowship of the church have not often been considered by alcoholics as a source of help in the past. Instead, leadership in dealing with the physical, psychological, and moral aspects of alcoholism was assumed by such organizations as Alcoholics Anonymous and, more recently, by governmental agencies and clinics.

There is no time here to explore the complex reasons for this situation in which Methodists have been followers, or worse, antagonists. It is sufficient to note that temperance leaders in Methodism today are increasingly more willing to work at increasing the effectiveness of the ministry and fellowship of the church in dealing with one of the most complex and devastating health problems of our time.

They are also increasingly more willing than formerly to join forces with other persons and organizations dedicated to the rehabilitation of the alcoholic and the prevention of alcoholism without making agreement with Methodist temperance goals a prior condition of cooperation.

I am not certain that the changes described above are improvements and do not choose to argue the point. A fair evaluation of the impact of these changes will necessarily take time. However—and here I am speaking quite candidly—the new organization and the new program emphases will not do any worse than what preceded and may well do better. I believe the changes are potentially an improvement since it remains to be demonstrated that this activity has achieved total abstinence even among a majority of Methodists. It remains to be demonstrated that Methodists generally have made a significant contribution to a serious attack on alcoholism and the rehabilitation of alcoholics. I hope the church will soon be able to present convincing evidence to the contrary.



At the same time it should be pointed out that there is no evidence to prove that Methodists have *not* made an impact. It is conceivable that conditions might be much worse today if the church had not been active in this field. The question is not one of judgment but of proof.

Toward abstinence goals

There are probably those Methodists who view the recent changes in organization and programming as a symptom of retreat from an historic position or as a symptom of defeat or compromise. This may ultimately prove to be so. But it seems to me more justifiable to conclude that the changes reflect more accurately a realistic reassessment of alternative means to achieve the same historic goal—total abstinence as the preferred way of life for Methodists.

This leads me to the discussion of my second point: The relationship between means and ends in temperance activity and the difference between immediate and ultimate goals.

Reinhold Niebuhr has always been particularly interesting to me primarily because he recognizes as clearly as any contemporary theologian the ironies and paradoxes inherent in human life. His discussion of ethics focuses sharply on the impossible possibility of Christian love and the problem of converting ethical imperatives into the multitudes of decisions which constitute our daily lives.

Living the moral life by Christian standards thus, like politics, becomes in part the art of the possible. It is filled with strategic compromises, hopefully in the service of the goals we have set for ourselves.

There are surely those Methodists who will always be dissatisfied with anything short of the achievement of total abstinence for our entire society by legal compulsion if necessary. Oth-

ers would settle for having most Methodists abstinent.

There are still others—and I am among them, who feel that the Methodist temperance program would be eminently successful if it achieved far more modest immediate goals than either of these. I am not inclined to ignore the relevance of long-range objectives; rather my inclination is to emphasize the importance of working on immediate objectives one day at a time, as the AA's prefer to say.

Understanding necessary

1) I would, for example, count as a step forward a better understanding of alcoholism than we now have. The alcoholic continues to intimidate the church. There continues to be reluctance to accept the alcoholic as an ill person and one who should be and can be helped. There is still reluctance to consider alcoholism a community responsibility as well as a community problem.

As one result of these attitudes the church has more often than not found itself following rather than leading in doing something about what is admittedly the most pressing immediate alcohol problem which we face. Worse still is the tendency of some clergymen and some congregations to continue their rejection of alcoholics and to refuse to support and participate actively in community programs of education and rehabilitation. Condemnation has not been matched by compassion. The church has not very often been a therapeutic community for the alcoholic.

2) I would also consider it a step forward if the issues involved in deciding to drink or not to drink were more clearly defined. I think the issue is confused when alcohol is discussed as though it always does something *to* the individual and never *for* him.

This is overly simple. Personally I am forced to admit that some apparently reasonable and Christian men and women choose to drink themselves, appear to receive some satisfaction from it, and train their children to drink. Many people I know and admire drink without ever becoming inebriated or irresponsible and with very low probability of ever becoming alcoholic.

I have a Jewish friend who points out that an abstainer's fearful avoidance of alcohol, which he considers part of God's creation and a divine gift to man, is more a commentary on human weakness than it is on the evils of alcohol. I agree. Preoccupation with liquid in the bottle misses the point basically.

A Catholic friend who, except for the ritual use of wine in the Eucharist, is an abstainer, not long ago explained the reason for his abstinence in terms of the Christian ethic. His commitment was not based primarily on the evils inherent in the use of alcohol or the inability of most men to drink in good conscience and with impunity at some time.

Rather, his commitment to abstinence was based on the demonstrated difficulty of so many individuals in this time and in this society in maintaining moderate use of alcohol and on his understanding of Christian imperative of love and concern for others, which is essential to the Pauline argument for abstention.

Total life involved

The issue, I believe, is the total life of man and his understanding of it and not the presumed inevitable evils associated with drinking. Quotation of facts about the depressing effects of alcohol and of probability statistics about the incidence of alcoholism and inebriety may be designed to make drinkers cautious without necessarily making them abstinent. The crucial argument for total abstinence as distinct from inebriety or alcoholism is ultimately an ethical argument.

I do not mean that the risks associated with the use of alcohol should be minimized. Alcohol is a depressant with demonstrable effects on the central nervous system. Inebriety poses obvious dangers in a highly mechanized society. Some drinking is clearly symptomatic of personal and social inadequacies of the drinker. These facts must be presented as often and as effectively as possible. They are not presented too often and certainly not very effectively in our society. This suggests my third immediate goal.

3) I would consider it a step forward if, in any community, responsible leadership, whether or not committed to total abstinence, could agree on the basic facts about alcohol which an informed person should have at his disposal. I would be even more impressed if such a community were to move to implement appropriate programs of education designed to acquaint its people with these facts.

You are certainly aware that none of the three immediate goals I have used illustratively assumes agreement within a community about the possibility or desirability of total abstinence as a way of life.

I have chosen them rather because they seem to me to be fundamental and to be possible. They are related in a most basic and immediate way to the achievement of communities in which problems associated with the uses and misuses of alcohol are contained, if not eliminated, which is the ultimate objective.

Local church importance

The third and final focus of my comments is on the crucial importance of the local church in the achievement of Methodist temperance goals. In simplest terms, the local church is crucial precisely because its leadership and its fellowship are the interpreters of the Christian life as well as the interpreter of Methodist temperance programs and literature.

A local church whose laity has only a vague understanding of and commitment to the imperatives of the Christian conception of man and his destiny is in a poor position to develop a strong case for temperance. And even a local church whose laity are theologically informed and committed will be handicapped in achieving the goals of temperance if they are not also conversant with basic facts about alcohol and informed about the rationale for the temperance program of the church.

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Sen. Mansfield speaks on the German situation

A third way on Berlin

For several years the situation in Berlin has remained unchanged. Although tension has mounted, a showdown has been avoided. Now a new crisis seems to be building in Berlin. On June 14, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) spoke on the Berlin situation from the floor of the Senate. Here are excerpts of the senator's remarks:

What is involved at Berlin is not some obscure situation, distant from our concern or the concern of the Soviet Union. Berlin is at the core of these concerns. Berlin is the level which may ease Europe toward a more durable security or push the Western nations and the Soviet Union into a new vortex of irrationality at whose center lies the graveyard of humanity.

In these circumstances, we owe it to ourselves to examine the position which we have assumed with respect to Berlin. The leaders of the Soviet Union are obligated to do the same. Both sides owe it to the people of the world. The responsibility which we have and which the Soviet Union has, is not merely to reassert positions already assumed and which are obviously irreconcilable. The responsibility is to seek to determine whether or not there is a third way on Berlin which corresponds more accurately to the needs of Germany today, Europe today, and the world today—indeed, a third way which meets more fully the contemporary needs of both the Soviet Union and ourselves.

We can make this exploration only if we see clearly what the present positions are and what they imply.

Together with Britain and France, this nation is pledged to maintain an allied presence in West Berlin and to defend the people of that half-city. The other members of the NATO have endorsed this position.

I do not think there is any misunderstanding of what we are pledged to do, either at home or abroad. Nevertheless, let us restate the position to be certain that it is not misunderstood either at home or abroad. Let us restate it without provocation, without bombast. Let us restate it, as I am sure the President did at Vienna, in all soberness:

Stand firm at Berlin

We will not be driven, pushed or barred from fulfilling our responsi-

bilities to ourselves and to freedom in Berlin by any nation, half-nation, group of nations, or whatever. Such measures as may be necessary to assert that responsibility will be taken.

This is what we say in the phrase: Stand firm at Berlin. The full implications of these four words had better be understood in the Senate, in the Congress, and throughout the nation. They had better be understood now. The range of this commitment extends from a beginning of words of firmness, to a midpoint of expenditure of immense resources and enormous taxes and other sacrifices, to a final pledge of the lives and fortunes of every man, woman and child in the nation.

We are not engaged at Berlin with the fast draw and wax bullets of television anymore than the Russians are engaged in a harmless game of chess. In the last analysis we are engaged now, as we have been at Berlin, with the whole future of the United States. In this day and age and in this situation, the words, standing firm, carry no other than this ultimate implication.

The Soviet position

Let me set forth next my understanding of the position to which the Soviet Union adheres in the Berlin situation. It is, so far as I am aware, unchanged as is ours, except in time-schedule since it was first announced in November 1958. I should like to state that position in substance, without sensationalism and as objectively as I can delineate it from the accounts which have appeared in the press.

The Soviet Union intends to withdraw from its World War II occupational responsibilities in East Berlin and it insists that the Western powers must do the same in West Berlin. It proposes to turn over East Berlin to the East German authorities, presumably as part of a separate peace treaty with the East German government. It offers to join in a guarantee of a new status for West Berlin as a free city within that state.

And, if I am not mistaken, Mr. Khrushchev has added to this position a further contention that the Soviet Union will come to the military aid of the East German authorities in the event that the Western powers refuse to accept this change and continue to assert their present responsibilities in West Berlin in opposition to the wishes of those authorities.

My own view of this situation is not one which depends on whether the Soviet Premier means what he says or does not mean what he says. It is based upon my personal estimate of the changing situation in Europe and the world, and it is based upon what I believe to be the rational interests of this nation in the light of those changes.

I have long questioned and I continue to question a status quo which places us in the position, in effect, of pleading with or urging the Russians not to withdraw their military forces from the western-most point of penetration which they reached in Europe

in the wake of World War II; yet, our present position on Berlin requires that we do precisely that.

Further, I do not think we can safeguard most effectively our own interests or advance the interests of peace when we insists upon remaining directly under a communist sword of Damocles, as is now the case in Berlin, if a rational alternative may be found to that position through diplomacy.

Further, I have long questioned and I continue to question a position on Berlin which was assumed immediately after World War II and has been maintained unchanged despite the enormous changes which have occurred in both parts of Germany and in Europe since that time.

Finally, I question, as I have long questioned, a position which, through subordinate irresponsibility, error, or provocation on either side, invites the precipitation of a nuclear conflict.

A change necessary

We prove our courage, our steadfastness, our determination when we insist, as insist we must with all that insistence implies, that we shall not permit the Russians or anyone else to dictate unilaterally the terms under which this nation and its allies shall discharge the responsibilities which were assumed in Berlin in the wake of World War II. We would prove little more than the inertia of Western leadership, however, if we insist that the status quo in Berlin is sacrosanct. We prove little more than the sterility of our diplomacy if we insist that the status quo at Berlin cannot be changed even by mutual agreement leading to a new situation, which is neither that which now exists nor the alternative which the Soviet Union propounds.

It seems to me that if we are to be not merely courageous but intelligently courageous, that is precisely the course we must pursue. We must seek a third way in Berlin which may better serve the interests of all the parties concerned—of the German people no less than other Europeans, of the United States no less than the Soviet Union, and of that great stretch of the world with its hundreds of millions of people to whom Berlin is but a name, if it is even that.

For my part, I believe that the third way lies in an honest recognition of the fact that it is too late in the game to expect that Germany will be reunified in peace by fiat of the United States, France, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia as was expected 15 years ago. Yet, this assumption continues to underlie our position with respect to Berlin.

If the assumption is invalid, then the continued garrisoning of Berlin by the forces of these four nations loses much of its significance as a temporary occupational measure which was all it was intended to be when these garrisons were established a decade and a half ago.

Unification hope

However, Berlin—not only West Berlin, but all Berlin—does not lose its significance in terms of ultimate German unification. Berlin remains the symbolic hope of that unification and I do not think it is unreasonable to assume that it will one day again be the actual capital of a unified Germany. It seems to me that the German people will have the best opportunity to find the way to unification in peace and the outside powers will make a significant contribution to the search, if they will act now to remove Berlin —all Berlin—from the clashes of the cold war into which it has been driven by the events of the post-war years. If we must live, as it now seems likely, for an indefinite period with a divided Germany, then, peace requires that Berlin—all Berlin—be held in peace and in trust until the day of unification.

A third way may lie in the creation of a free city, not in West Berlin alone, but in the creation of a free city which embraces all Berlin—the Communist East no less than the free western segment of that metropolis. Let this whole city be held in trust and in peace by some international authority until such time as it is again the capital of Germany. Let the routes of access to this whole city be garrisoned by international peace teams in the effective pattern of those now operating between Israel and the Arab States. Let this interim status of free city be guaranteed by the NATO and Warsaw-pact countries.

Let Bonn and Pankow subscribe to this arrangement and pay its costs in appropriate shares. Let these changes be incorporated in specific written agreements. Then, perhaps, we may have the beginning of a durable peace in Berlin and the healing of the cleavage in Germany and Europe.

I make these suggestions as one Senator from the State of Montana, and I make them on my own responsibility.

I make them in full recognition of the present position of this government which, if it is unchanged will be my personal position when all the words are exhausted. I make them, however, in the belief that this present position is not enough, even as the present Soviet position is not enough.

The implications of what I have tried to say to the Senate, then, are clear. Sooner or later, the Western nations and the Soviet Union must seek a new way, a third way, to solution of the Berlin problem along the lines which I have suggested or some other. Unless this search is pursued with energy and dispatch and to fruition, sooner or later Berlin is likely to become the pivot of a new disaster for mankind.

Problems of Disarmament

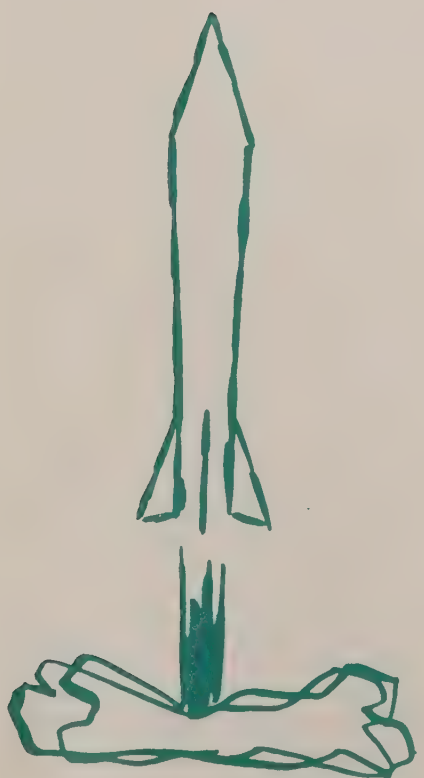
A *Concern* Extra presented by the Division of Peace and World Order

The Rev. Daniel E. Taylor, minister of the Rose City Park Methodist Church, Portland, Ore., gave this address at the Southern California-Arizona Annual Conference. Mr. Taylor was General Secretary of the former Board of World Peace.

One feature of this annual conference was a special panel of speakers on disarmament. An extensive disarmament study for Methodism's local churches is being planned for the fall. On the next seven pages *Concern* is carrying Mr. Taylor's address as a contribution to this and other annual conference disarmament programs.

More information on resources and study and action possibilities is available from the Rev. Rodney Shaw, Division of Peace and World Order. Reprints of this address are available from: Service Department, 100 Maryland Ave., N. E. Washington 2, D. C.

The contemporary quest



The story of disarmament is an awkward contrast of affirmation and achievement. It is not simply that mankind ever professes better than it acts. But in the case of disarmament the translation of man's hopes into deeds involves difficult middle axioms, subtle policy discrimination and a forbidding array of problems.

Thus, the seventeenth General Assembly of the United Nations listened in its opening sessions to a noteworthy procession of the heads of governments. It heard their pleas for disarmament as a prerequisite of world security.

Among others, General Eisenhower, in his last appearance before the UN as President of the United States, stressed two dangers: unintentional conflict and the unlimited spread of nuclear capability. Appropriate resolutions were introduced by the USSR; by Italy, for themselves, the United Kingdom, and the United States; by India, for a 10-nation group, and by other countries. More than a dozen resolutions were soon on the agenda.

Yet, negotiations at Geneva dragged. An example is the test ban conference which has held over 300 sessions since November, 1958. Two-thirds of the proposed treaty has been written out and tentatively approved. A compromise 4-4-3 Control Commission has now been endorsed. Unsolved still is the number of administrators and their roles. The Congo, Laos and Cuba intruded their crises into UN debate.

Finally, we were to hear, just before the Assembly closed this spring, an appeal to the United States and Russia to meet bi-laterally not later than this August to seek to compose their differences so that a fresh and hopeful approach to the problem

might become possible.

Reduction attempts fail

Serious attempts to reduce arms have run aground previously. The first two Hague Peace conferences in 1899 and 1907 are instances. Then the League of Nations itself floundered. The League failed not alone because of the lack of membership of the United States. The victorious powers sought to disarm Germany but, except for naval parity, not themselves. The member states vacillated in the face of new challenges. Even more deeply, they could not agree whether disarmament should come before security or security should come before disarmament.

The story since World War II has been that of an accelerated arms race, continuously exhibiting new weapons and delivery systems.

A capable analyst of the problem points out four characteristics of the recent past: 1) that official and public concern for disarmament did not survive World War II, 2) discussions between states occur in an atmosphere of suspicion, 3) disputes are shaped in the context of the Cold War, and 4) some of the issues, like inspection, are new and unmastered.

Small wonder, that even among Christian people, books about peace of mind are automatically best-sellers while books about world peace are publishers' headaches.

Yet the small nations want peace—and they want disarmament. How does the problem look to newly developing countries. They are afraid of what the great powers might do.

Newly developing countries cannot bear their part of the costs of the arms race. What they do pay for must often be at the expense of health, education, and industrial and agricultural development. Last fall during the UN debate on disarmament a representative from Mali declared:

"The cold war kills us twice—once when it deprives us of economic help and once when the radioactive fall out descends upon our heads and soil."

Their foreign relations are dictated too largely by the terms of the Cold War. The types of aid and military support seriously disrupt the internal structure and the economic and industrial life of a small country. The new nation, stubbornly pursuing its independence and self-interest, insists it is doing no more than what motivates a great power in such matters.

Soviet situation

The situation in the Soviet Union is more obscure. Her ideology, communist aggressive aims, totalitarian control over her citizens and satellites, subversion and infiltration tactics, and her need of internal secrecy all point to the maintenance of strong armed forces.

Yet, Russia not only talks disarmament. Since 1955 she has begun to support her sloganeering for peace with ever more serious, if still too general, disarmament offers. Indeed, there is little question that she has reduced certain categories of her armed forces, in part as new tactical weapons have altered the structure of conventional forces.

But Russia faces real problems in respect to disarmament. These include: (1) a tardy re-appraisal of the relation of conventional and nuclear forces, (2) her fear of Germany and vulnerability through central Europe (which Hitler exploited), (3) her internal secrecy and the difficulty of adjusting to international inspection, and (4) her poorly-informed leadership and public.

Yet, there are real factors pushing Russia toward arms reduction. Chief among these are the pressure of consumer needs and interests, the arms burden, and the fear of more nuclear powers. In fact all the forces that confront the family of nations play upon her as well as upon others. That her monolithic structure and controlled life and economy make her adjustment to these more direct and often more prompt does not exempt her from the pressures of history. Indeed, whatever else we do, we must not fall into the folly of making Moscow omnicompetent.

Church and state goals

But we are American citizens and our role as responsible Christians exists toward our own country, its policies and its problems. It is here that our modest influence must be exerted. It is here that we either fulfill or neglect our duties.

The situation in the United States might be put in terms of a reference to the presidential seal which diplomats see as they enter the White House. Over the door through which they enter is the former presidential seal. The eagle is set in a field of 13 stars, marking the original colonies. In his left claw is a bundle of arrows. In the right an olive branch of peace. The head of the eagle faces the arrows.

This came to seem inappropriate, and in 1945 the seal was changed. The new seal now above the doorway of the Blue Room is the eagle set in a field of 50 stars. In his claws are still the arrows, and the olive branch. But now his head is turned toward the olive branch. The United States, possessing unprecedented military might, is committed to the way of peace. Has there been such a change of policy? And is the choice that clear-cut and simple?

A desire for peace

The United States has repeatedly made clear its desire for peace and its sincere interest in disarmament. Only last winter Ambassador Wadsworth gave the disarmament talkes a higher dimension by commenting:

"By and large, I think the Russian government has every intention of living up to any agreement it may make on nuclear tests or in the larger fields of disarmament . . . in short we would like to see total disarmament of all nations under law. In my personal opinion, if we were to start

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now and work at good speed, progress to this goal could be completed in the neighborhood of, say, five to six years, and with good faith and real sense of urgency on both sides, it could take even less."

On assuming office in January, President Kennedy selected such able men as John J. McCloy and Arthur Dean to further these objectives. The United States has never seriously wavered from an ultimate goal of complete, safeguarded disarmament.

This position is not too divergent from the pronouncements of many church bodies. Our own stand (The Methodist Church) is typical. The last Methodist General Conference meeting in Denver in 1960 declared:

"We call upon the United States and all other governments to declare complete, universal, and enforceable disarmament to be their goal and to work in this direction."

That this is no simplist exhortation is evident from further study of the resolution. "Disarmament," the statement added, "is no simple goal . . ." Its accomplishment demands "the promotion of understanding, reconciliation and good will; the relief of suffering; the lifting of living standards around the world; concern for the freedom and welfare of dependent and subject peoples; the removal of racial tensions; the taking of all available steps toward disarmament; the giving and support to patient negotiations by our leaders."

Complete disarmament

A minority viewpoint among peace leaders holds that there is less danger and more practicality in completely disarming in one step than in a series of disarmament stages. But this opinion has never had serious acceptance among the majority of our citizens. The average man feels that the only possible way to disarm is through a gradual and graded approach.

Indeed, this has been the customary view of the process of moving from massive military stockpiles, with their accompanying hazards, toward an increasingly disarmed and stabilized condition. Arms limitation, arms control, arms reduction—these are the steps of disengagement.

That it will take many decisions and acts to halt, crest, and then reduce the arms race we well recognize. By a slow, painstaking process armed forces would be multilaterally diminished under a safeguarded arrangement. Eventually the goal mutually affirmed by both Church and State would be reached as substitutes for arms increasingly provide world security.

Some regard hopefully signs that this country is seriously undertaking this task. In no year since World War II have we spent 1/100,000th as much for disarmament studies and planning as for annual military preparations. *Ad hoc* committees with limited authority have carried on our negotiations. The appointment of permanent staff and of specific agencies working in the disarmament field are hopeful omens. Perhaps, casual, random and interim efforts are over. To those cherishing such hopes arms control is a half-way house on a long journey—an intermediate step finding meaning chiefly as a prelude to the true goal of an unarmed world.

Urgent problem areas relating to disarmament

Arms control

A growing segment of military planners are openly advocating arms control as an alternate to, and even an antidote, for disarmament. The latter goal, they hold, is shallow, illusory, and escapist. The major features of this position are that the United States has over-prepared for an all-out war which will probably never come and now needs to undertake far bolder and costlier efforts to be adequate in general or limited war.

This opinion is strong both on Capitol Hill and across the land. If we would give our attention to limiting general war, stabilizing our deterrent capacity, and maintaining sufficent arms for security, we thereby achieve the greatest odds favoring peace.

This position is so definitely ascendant that a nation-wide study of arms control as *the* way to prevent nuclear war is currently being sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund. Let T. C. Schelling, of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard, speak for this viewpoint when he says:

"There has been a widespread change in the thinking on arms control in the last year or so. . . . It accepts a retaliatory capability as something to be enhanced, not degraded . . . this approach to arms control . . . does not involve disarmament in the literal sense."

This new stress on peace resting on arms finds sanction among ethicists and a rationale among theologians to supplement the tactical argument. Contextual ethicists and advocates of prudence both rest the case for arms control on calculated judgments. A typical theological statement of this position is expounded by Paul Ramsey as follows:

". . . justifiable warfare means war limited to counterforces warfare, under conditions that require that the kinds and firepower of weapons not only must but *should* be increased by any responsible and major govern-

ment today. . . ."

While there is insufficent time here to argue the respective merits of the two positions, enough has been said to make clear that the two viewpoints differ not only in approach but in aim. One seeks to eliminate arms except for internal security. The other seeks controlled arms as the road to peace and as the antithesis of disarmament.

National security

A nation seeks the security and well-being of its people, the preservation of a way of life, and the perpetuation of its heritage. The primary obligation of government is to safeguard these values. Does disarmament contribute to security more than other national postures? How much disarmament and how soon?

The thesis of the Hague Conferences and of the League was that arms contributed neither to peace nor prosperity. The prevailing opinion now is opposite to this. It holds that weakness and lack of arms invites aggression. Perhaps, both extremes of war-like preparation and defenselessness invite disaster. Suffice it to say that no aggressor has ever gone to war without something to fight with and without measurable chances either of victory or a satisfactory stalemate.

The complex factors that tend to raise or diminish the threat of war are difficult to evaluate. They range all the way from the massing of troops on a border to the mood and temper of a people. Where the balance shifts from clearly defense preparation to what may *appear* to be covert plans to attack and hence incites to preemptive action is an unstable and changing equation.

It is the view of this writer that the great powers have such arms capability as to have passed the benign stage and to confront military planners continually with the calculation of anticipatory attack. In a staff report prepared this year for a House committee, the writers conclude:

". . . in the world at large, armed

forces acting under no umbrella of internationally agreed law can only be provacative, no matter what theory of deterrence they are seeking to carry out."

The effect of the mood and attitude of a people is far more difficult to judge. "Wars are only paroxyms of conflicts which smolder in the irrational depths of human nature." The very efforts to prepare to wage war —pre-occupation with military affairs and interests — heighten the level of tension. ". . . If enough people behave as if (such) a war is coming, its coming will be easier."

Weaponry

We are not only forever *this* side of the mushroom cloud; but we have now evolved the "third generation" of nuclear weapons, as advanced over the H-bomb as that was over the A. We have an alarming number of weapons and great "overkill" capacity. Our efforts are now directed toward a full spectrum of weaponry for every eventuality.

The most critical problem is the almost insurmountable advantage of surprise attack and of the "first strike." As recently as April 10 Secretary McNamara reminded our country that our policy is to ride out such an attack and then hit back. This demands careful safeguards against accidental or irresponsible war. Above all it calls for "second strike capability" and has led us to an almost parnoid search for the "invulnerable deterrent."

Currently, two contending theories of counter-deterrence are struggling for supremacy. The first, enunciated most adequately by the Air Force, is that of "counter-forces welfare." This view holds that a nuclear war, involving primarily military forces, is possible, is to be rationally conceived, can be won, and will leave the winner in a viable condition.

The other position, more evident in the Army and Navy, is the "combined deterrence" theory. Two chief aims stand out. First, all-out war is made so terrible that it cannot and will not be fought. The chief element is such an invulnerable deterrent as the Polaris submarine, of which 45 are presently said to be sufficent for this task.

Secondly, tactical forces will deter limited war or win it if fighting breaks out. The latter theory is more open in recognizing that civilian populations are hostages against total war. Indeed, the latter view seems to hold that cities and civilians are the real pawns against either deliberate or reckless war. The threat of "counter-peoples" warfare will help ensure only "counter-forces" engagement, save as civilians are accidentally rather than intentionally engulfed.

How to prevent conflict from escalating into total war is another serious problem. Indeed, there is little or no evidence in history that a major power will accept defeat while still holding the "ultimate weapon."

Furthermore, once underway warfare tends to grow more destructive and horrendous, increasing in barbarism as each side becomes conscious of its losses. Whether this process would be curbed in the brevity of nuclear war no one knows; although it seems apparent that the struggle would involve only armaments already in being. Suppose, for example, we suffered 60 million casualties the first day and lost much of our retaliatory capability? Would we then substitute unlimited CBR warfare to compensate for lack of determinative reserves? Such answers apparently no one knows.

Military influence

The modern arms race—what Philip Noel-Baker terms "the constant competitive expansion of na-

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tional armaments (as) the dominating factor in international life" is a phenomenon of our own century. Its effects on our economy, our politics and our way of life are innumerable.

The very size of the military—to say nothing of its growing influence—creates a new pattern in American life. "Military assets are three times as great as the combined assets of United States Steel, American Telephone and Telegraph, Metropolitan Life Insurance, General Motors and Standard Oil of New Jersey." The total acreage that the Pentagon owns is greater than the areas of Rhode Island, Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maryland combined.

Traditionally we had fought wars chiefly with a citizen militia. The civilian-military relationship was spelled out under conditions which guaranteed that the military would be subject to civilian control. In recent years this distinction has become obsolete, as scientists oscillate between military and civilian posts and retired generals assume increasing managerial leadership in industry.

The alliance of the military and industry is typlified in the annual military-industrial conference and by frequent trade conferences through which urban areas seek to maintain their share of defense contracts and sub-contracts. More recently the new military-intellectual elite is a sophisticated element in this process of social amalgamation. Its effects on the national life and thought—and its frequent pseudo-scientific character—was brilliantly described in an article by Edward L. Katzenbach, Jr., "Ideas: A New Defense Industry." in the *Reporter* for March 2, 1961.

The crux of the problem is to maintain that precise line between true policy analysis and review on the one hand and rationalization of special claims or manipulation of the citizen mind on the other. The author cites a typical instance of the latter when in reference to his use of the Weapons System Evaluation Group one chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff gave as his use of WSEG: "To prove to the others that what I already know to be so is so."

Public opinion

Nothing is more basic in a democracy than that policy be formed with the participation of the people. Policy making grows ever more complex and involved. Our times demand even more than the traditional virtues of individual behavior a heightened understanding of social responsibility. The stratification which makes the political process more sophisticated also makes the levels of responsible government more clearly apparent. All this has made continuous and responsible Christian citizenship more imperative, and that by far greater numbers than ever before.

Yet, careful surveys have shown that the typical American is neither knowledgeable nor motivated toward world affairs in the degree necessary for intelligent citizen participation in a great power democracy in decisive times. Too typical is the recent AP story of a phone call by an interviewer telephoning a selected sampling regarding Laos.

He called an apartment house and when a woman's voice responded he asked, "What can you tell me about Laos?" There was silence for a moment; then, the lady replied: "There's no one by that name on our floor; you must be asking about the new family downstairs. Why not call the landlady about them?"

Lack of interest or knowledge, concern about taxes, fears of inflation or unemployment, all coalesce to crowd national policy out of the public mind and to put national security on a dollars and cents basis. "What can we afford; not what should we do?" becomes the paramount question.

Even more important is the image of ourselves which we have. We regard ourselves as tolerant, generous, easy-gaited folk who wouldn't be unkind to anyone. Then, we grow alarmed to find that abroad many do not like us and have a far different idea of both our deeds and our intensions.

Is it simply that they are jealous, that it is human nature to exhibit antipathy toward the leader? Does humanity always root for the underdog? Or, are both images so shot through with sentimental assumptions as to be dangerously far from the facts. What, also, of our image of our counter-part, the Russian citizen?

A recent Gallup Poll shows a striking change in our image of the average Russian. At the end of World War II he was "brave, hard-working, ordinary." Now he is envisioned as a rude, clever, ruthless and treacherous foe. Meanwhile, our image of such former enemies as the Japanese and the Germans has improved greatly. Have the characteristics of these peoples and their countries altered so greatly in that short time?

Again, do most of us understand that we are members of numerous minorities of sect, party, or regional interest; that the United States is above all a pluralism; its policy a continuing compromise of many interests? Our policy, therefore, must be broadly satisfactory to various groups but tends to lack sharpness, clarity, and precision.

It is conceivable that a small, cohesive group sharing one common purpose might, for example, unilaterally disarm. But is it a relevant option to a great pluralistic power?

There are some things we *can* do as the leader of the free world. By the same token, there are many other options now denied us. These are options still open to a median power. Such a power has a measure of flexibility not safe for us. A minor power (like Switzerland), under the benign umbrella of one of the great powers, has still different policies available.

Our citizen judgment on national policy—and on disarmament—must be in terms relevant to our nation's role. A leading power must act cautiously, responsibly, giving time for its cohorts to adjust to changes. How do we as Christians still make prophetic, progressive suggestions to our people and our government? How can we stimulate and invigorate national opinion, not repel it?

Objectives and procedures

However seriously we seek to negotiate it must be with certain objectives clearly in mind. The hierarchy of objectives varies with the political situation; yet must be conformable to our value system. From our standpoint—and the case is not different with Russia—we have had difficulty in reconciling our major objectives. Indeed, we have too easily assumed that they were comparable, harmonious, and mutually re-inforcing. In fact, as in logic, they may be instead dissimilar, contradictory, and directly opposite. If so they nullify each other. Or, they may be, somewhat kindred and somewhat variant; in which case some must be subordinated and a hard compromise effected.

Among the many objectives at least three stand out clearly throughout the various deliberations. These are:

1) Honest beginnings at disarmament, usually through arms limitations and control.

2) Propaganda disarmament.

3) Some parity of agreement, without jeopardizing our strongest military posture. Or, even agreement, with hidden tactical advantage.

Now these are not necessarily relatable and harmonious aims as the story of frustrated negotiations has all too clearly pointed out.

Suffice it to say that none of the negotiating powers has been blameless in the failures of recent years. The Russians display a fondness for sweeping general proposals (much as the French used to). Only in recent presentations have they started to achieve the specificity which is required for tangible progress.

The United States begins more reasonably but for some time tied its proposals in a whole package. More serious is the U.S. demand for a degree of verification and certitude that is highly perfectionistic. Our line sounds very much like the old "security first" position held by the French throughout the twenties.

Procedures prove as troublesome as substantive issues. Procedurally, the Russians begin in strong, rough fashion and have to be worn down to study and compromise. The United States begins warily but when the other side begins to give and things are coming our way we jack up the terms of agreement to gain a closing advantage (as Mr. Dulles did in London in 1957 when replacing Mr. Stassen.)

The Cold War and the unending struggle for superior position have chilled the climate of negotiations until each side must regard not only the validity of a proposal, and who will benefit by its acceptance; but even who will get credit for advancing it. Hence, the better the idea the more necessary to refine, outflank, or even repudiate it.

One must stall or break off negotiations until he can come up with a better idea. But the "enemy" cannot afford us the undue credit of this fresh step and must in turn nullify it. Such "gamesmanship" exhibits the changing scope of negotiations and the difficulties in the diplomacy of disarmament.

Another awkward problem common to both diplomatic and military planners is the necessity of preparing for any eventuality. In fact, it must go beyond this. To be properly safeguarded we must be prepared for a potential "enemy" to do his worst. We must anticipate the possibility of his most brazen or reckless behavior and ascribe the worst possible motivation to his acts. But this invites us to confuse the possible and the probable.

What he is fairly certain of doing —usually a middle course—scarcely receives the attention it deserves while we overstress what conceivably could happen. In diplomacy as in military strategy preparing for every possibility is a costly and devious course often obstructing the unfolding of our own strongest position.

Guarantees of security

Disarmament is impossible and unworkable without new guarantees of security that will supplant safety through arms. This means not only strengthening institutions for peaceful change but a world-wide effort on behalf of the basic well-being of mankind exceeding that now given to the arms race.

It must surpass the latter not only in cost to the extent of some $120 billion annually, but invite more planning, involve more people, engage more effort, and be motivated in deeper purpose than the processes of destruction.

(continued on page 18)

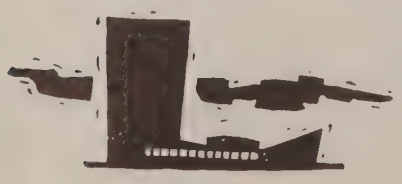
(continued from page 17)

Such a wholesome, dynamic condition throughout mankind in which the good life is being increasingly achieved by all is a prerequisite to a disarmed world. Colonial and dependent territories must gain freedom and political independence. Families everywhere must have food, shelter, and job security.

Meanwhile, there will be rivalries and contests between states. Such conflict is not all bad. Where there is diversity, there is bound to be difference of opinion. In such competition vigorous patterns of life and thought evolve. But as long as there is comparative anarchy above the national level, inadequate appeal to juridical or adjudicating processes, decisions and findings cannot be enforced. Suasions and sanctions cannot coerce the offender. Recourse to arms to protect rights and to redress wrongs constitutes a real hazard.

The agency perfected in our generation to achieve these aims is the United Nations. Incumbent upon each of us is continuing effort to ensure that it will be sustained, undergirded, and strengthened in all its agencies and affiliates. Occasional proposals for the creation of some other agency for such purposes (such as a separate international military force capable of keeping the peace) are beside the point.

The degree of cost and effort we in our generation will put into international structure is now related to the UN and we will "sink or swim" with it. Let us then make sure it is given the opportunity to achieve its best work. Meanwhile, the extension of world law and the increasing utilization of international courts will extend the authority and scope of peaceful procedures for conflict resolution.



Christian responsibility

Put succinctly, what is the role of faith in reference to knotty problems like disarmament? Clearly we begin inwardly, with motives and intentions. It is then customary to go on a clear statement of principles. Recently speaking at Princeton, George Kennan charged churchmen to insist on honest methods but to leave purposes to statesmen.

A fundamental weakness of churchmen is to sound forth lofty principles and leave details to specialists. But one does not jump from principles to complicated solutions. The troublesome middle axioms often cause more difficulty than confused principles. One singular function is to critically evaluate national policy, our objectives, and the means to achieve them.

This brings us to the question of methods. Means and ends interfuse only when they are compatible. Here Christians have considerable expertness about such methods as peaceful roles of reconciliation. We at least imperfectly practice and exhibit what Sorokin calls "the ways of the power of love." Perhaps even to "pray for peace" and proclaim lofty sentiments are but impertinent unless we go on to do something about them. Maybe the Christian is to work "Christianly" within his vocation on these matters.

When The Methodist Church first authorized a Commission on World Peace more than a third of a century ago, Ralph Sockman in helping draft the legislation struck off a phrase which I think will outlast everything else he has said or written. The phrasing of our purpose at that time was "to create the will to peace, the conditions of peace, and the organization for peace.

When it became apparent that our peace board would go out of existence at the last General Conference, I worked diligently as staff head to ensure that this phrase would be incorporated into our Social Creed and it was done.

I believe it is a profound summary of our task: to create the *will* to peace —this begins inwardly as Christians should. It means motivation. The *conditions* of peace—this compasses the broad reaches of the problem. *Organization* for peace—since social institutions are the carriers of civilization.

Christianity that does not begin with purpose, proceed from clear principles, clarify its methods, analyze intermediate steps, and proceed to make fruitful its resolves, is abortive. From no part of the process are we exempt. So, disarmament for us is a task as well as goal.

Earlier I intimated that California reportedly had the most difficult job in adjusting from an arms economy to a non-military economy. Let it then be said that veteran legislators report the heaviest mail they ever received was in support of our joining the United Nations at the time the Charter was written here in that state. Estimates run as high as 25 million favorable letters and telegrams, a large portion of them from Methodists. Here are principles put into practice by responsive and responsible Christian citizens. So let us "seek peace and pursue it?"

Resources on disarmament

Arms Control, Disarmament, and National Security, edited by Donald G. Brennan under the sponsorship of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, George Braziller, New York, 1961, $6.00.

Papers which originally appeared in *Daedalus* have been expanded and brought up-to-date in this book which also contains five new papers on most recent developments.

The Arms Race, by Philip Noel-Baker, Oceana Publications, New York, 1958, $2.00, (PB).

Winner of a Nobel Peace prize in 1959, this book attempts to assess the

dangers of the arms race, and the importance of disarmament in national and international policy.

Peace and Power, edited by Daniel E. Taylor, Division of Peace and World Order, 1960, $1.00 (PB).

Nine churchmen concerned with international issues contribute a variety of viewpoints on the relationships between peace and power.

But You Can't Trust the Russians, A. Glenn Mower, Jr., assistant professor of political science, Illinois Wesleyan University, 50 cents.

The Case for Disarmament, John Swomley, Jr., 5 cents.

Reprinted from Progressive Magazine, this article presents step by step the reasons why we must disarm.

Christian Approach to Nuclear War, Church Peace Mission, 15 cents.

A statement addressed to all Christians which is a fresh attempt to set forth succinctly the problems which nuclear war poses for the Christian conscience and the response which should be made to this problem. Endorsed by several eminent theologians.

Christian Responsibility on a Changing Planet, Report of the Fifth World Order Study Conference held November 18-21, 1958, 35 cents.

Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapons Tests, U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 5 cents.

An analysis of progress and positions of participating parties. Oct. 1958-Aug., 1960.

Control and Reduction of Armaments, U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 5 cents.

A report of the Committee from the Committee on Foreign Relations, September 6, 1957.

Economics of Disarmament, a report of Gould House Conference, Jan. 28-30, 1961, 5 cents.

The Future of Nuclear Tests, Foreign Policy Association, 50 cents.

If the Arms Race Ends, Albert Gray, Jr. and Byron Johnson, 15 cents.

Two authoritative statements on the problems of economic adjustment for the U. S. in the event of disarmament.

Preventing Nuclear War, Social Action pamphlet, December, 1959, 25 cents.

Four authors discuss this urgent task confronting mankind.

Testing and Taming of Nuclear Weapons, Public Affairs Pamphlet #303, 25 cents.

Security Through World Disarmament, a report of the Seventh National Conference on World Disarmament and Development, April 10-11, 1961, Washington, D.C. Free.

United Nations Action on Disarmament, U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Feb. 22, 1960.

A survey of the debate and resolution of the 14th session of the General Assembly (Sept.-Nov., 1959).

Resolution on nuclear testing

A return by the United States to nuclear testing now would be a tragic turn of events, giving a heavy blow to hopes for peace and damaging world confidence in U.S. leadership.

It is true that nuclear test ban negotiations seem to have been brought to an impasse by Russian insistence upon proposals the West regards as unworkable and unacceptable.

However, there is both a destructive and a creative way to react to an impasse. Resumption of nuclear testing would be a destructive reaction, giving new impetus to the arms race, allowing still more terrifying weapons to be produced, providing an incentive for other nations to test, and turning world opinion against our country.

This is the time to search for a creative reaction to the impasse, not a time to return in despair to the sterile methods of the arms race.

(Therefore) we urge the President of the United States to explore fully the possibilities of:

1) calling for a special session of the United Nations General Assembly to consider ways of encouraging progress in the test ban negotiations and of giving assurance that secret tests are not being held during negotiations;

2) unilateral action by the United States in accepting a test ban inspection system. This action could take the form of:

(a) calling on the United Nations to move with utmost speed in setting up on U.S. territory and on adjoining oceans and seas the appropriate portions of the test ban inspection system formulated by the 1958 Geneva Conference of Russian and Western scientists, expanded to include later modifications and improved inspection techniques,

(b) asking the United Nations to operate the inspection system under a veto-free control plan to be devised by the UN,

(c) offering to the UN all necessary facilities, cooperation, and financial support,

(d) inviting Western allies, neutral nations, and the communist block to do the same at the earliest possible moment.

Such action could well create a current of enthusiasm that would sweep other nations in rapid succession into the inspection system. The communist bloc would then face the prospect of either joining the system or being isolated.

Isolation would set the USSR far back in the struggle for world leadership and leave the United States in the clear and undisputed position of leader in efforts for peace. Secret testing, made difficult by UN detection stations around the communist borders, would produce so little gain in comparison to this great loss that it is difficult to imagine Russia choosing to isolate itself from the world it has set out to win.

However that may be, we urge the Administration to consider carefully these and other similar proposals for resolving the nuclear test ban impasse. Truly this is the time for our nation to offer hope, not despair, to lead the world forward out of the terrible danger of the arms race.

Resolution adopted June 29, 1961, Executive Committee, General Board of Christian Social Concerns

Query

Question: *How many retail outlets for alcoholic beverages are there in the United States?*

Answer: *There are still 124,665 more retail outlets for alcoholic beverages than there are churches or synagogues in this country. But the gap has been steadily closing in recent years. Here are the latest figures (1959):*

Retail outlets for liquor and beer	279,271
Retail outlets for beer only	154,843
Total	434,114

Churches and synagogues

Protestant	282,008
Catholic	21,617
Jewish	4,079
Eastern churches	1,363
Old and Polish Catholic	331
Buddhist	51
Total	309,449

Statistics now available for the year ending June 30, 1960 show the largest decrease in alcoholic beverage outlets for any year since 1955. In fiscal year 1960 there were 17,603 less retail alcoholic beverage outlets than in 1959, representing a decrease of more than 4 per cent.

Surgeon asks smoking curb

In June the Dallas *Times Herald* carried this front page story reporting an address by cancer surgeon Dr. Alton Ochsner at an annual meeting of the American Cancer Society:

Famed cancer surgeon Dr. Alton Ochsner has blasted the federal government as derelict for failing to put controls on cigarettes—which he calls the top cancer producer.

"I think the manufacturers should be required to put on every package 'Use at your own risk'," the surgeon stated. He said that an ACS study of 200,000 men showed an 800 per cent greater mortality rate from lung cancer among cigarette smokers.

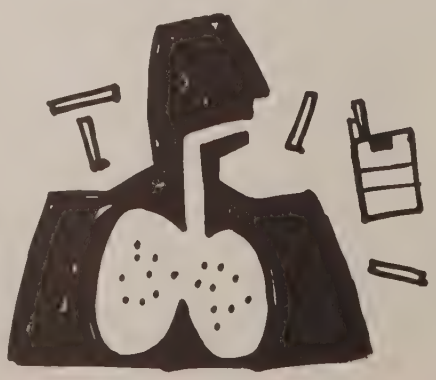
Dr. Ochsner said the Food and Drug Administration has skirted the issue by calling cigarettes neither food nor drug. "They most certainly are a drug," he said. "They form an addiction."

Dr. Achsner noted that the cigarette industry pays $11 billion each year in taxes, but asked: "What is a boost to economy worth if it ruins the country's health?"

He isn't in favor of prohibition of cigarettes, the doctor explained, but he feels the government should make cautionary statements mandatory in cigarette advertising.

"The alluring girls tripping over springs and frollicking in cigarette advertising are mainly designed to ensnare our youth," Dr. Ochsner said.

Dr. Ochsner said that great strides are being made in the curing of some cancers, but gave some forboding figures to point up the need. Under treatment now for cancer are 700,000 Americans; 450,000 new cases are diagnosed annually; at the present rate 250,000 will die annually.



(continued from page 9)

Good programming at the national level unquestionably helps in the achievement of temperance goals. Good literature and other resources will help. But the job ultimately must be done on a one day at the time basis in the local church.

This conclusion is in part based on common sense observation. It also reflects research in the field of communication. The impact which any source of communication which comes from outside a group has on an individual is mediated by the support which his interpretation of what he hears and sees receives from his peers. This is the case regardless of whether the communication deals with a political candidate, a detergent or temperance.

A single dedicated but uninformed teacher can neutralize the effectiveness of the best literature and most careful programming. The work of the most dedicated and informed pastor in working with an alcoholic can be undermined by an uninformed and unsympathetic laity.

Of the four areas of emphasis in Methodist temperance programming —education, rehabilitation, commitment and legislation—I have obviously concentrated on the first three to the neglect of the fourth. I do not mean to disparage temperance legislation. My emphasis does, however, reflect a personal preference for placing maximum effort on developing resources within the individual and within the fellowship of his local church in contrast to giving maximum effort in regulating the external environment. These two emphases are not necessarily antagonistic. The problem more basically is deciding on the priority of emphases in the face of limited resources in the local church.

report from

• Division of Peace and World Order

Herman Will, Board Associate General Secretary in charge of the division

Stine testifies on foreign aid

Methodist support for increased foreign aid, including authority for long-range commitments, was voiced before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the end of June.

Dr. Leo C. Stine of Kalamazoo, Mich., a member of the General Board of Christian Social Concerns, spoke in behalf of the board at hearings on the administration's foreign economic aid and development proposals.

Dr. Stine quoted the 1960 General Conference statement that: "The desperate unmet needs of people in this world are of grave concern to Christians. . . . We believe that economic assistance, which seeks to make the benefits of scientific advance and industrial progress available for the improvement of underdeveloped areas, is an example of both Christian love and practical international brotherhood. . . . For maximum effectiveness, it is important that these programs be on a long-range basis."

Pointing to Methodism's long-standing interest in world peace, he declared that the assistance given to the people of other nations less fortunate than ourselves represents an important positive step in the direction of our goal of world peace."

"Methodists do not share the idea that our assistance should be given just to compete with the communists," Dr. Stine said, "but we are realistic enough to agree that their effort should not be overlooked in the struggle between East and West."

Encourage test ban efforts

Action is needed now to encourage further efforts at reaching a test ban agreement. Continued pressures are being exerted to step up the arms race by calling for the continuation of nuclear testing through underground experiments for military purposes. Here are things you can do:

1) Send communications to the President, your Congressmen, and to the chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, Rep. Chet Holifield.

2) Discuss and distribute copies of the General Board executive committee "Resolution on Nuclear Testing." (See page 19)

3) Write to Sen. Hubert Humphrey to commend him for his recent proposals that under the authority of the UN this country conduct underground nuclear tests for peaceful purposes to develop an efficient detection system and to encourage other countries to do the same.

Economic Aid Program needs support

Now is the time to let your Congressman know your views on a long-range economic aid program. Secretary Rusk in introducing the present bill said: "Short-term plans tend to emphasize the dramatic over the basic, the facade over the foundations."

You may also want to emphasize the importance of providing enough economic aid to do the job effectively. The Administration is requesting $2.9 billion for fiscal 1962, which is less than 1 per cent of the U.S. Gross National Product.

Besides your own Congressmen, write to: Sen. Carl Hayden, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee and to Rep. Clarence Cannon, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

by *Herman Will, Jr.*

With Laos and Cuba still unsettled problems, a new Berlin crisis is bearing down upon the world. Both East and West are asserting their determination to stand firm on their positions even at the risk of hostilities.

The speech of Sen. Mike Mansfield on the subject of Berlin reprinted in *Concern* in condensed form is worthy of close study. It should be apparent by now that the present arrangements in Berlin pose such problems for East Germany and the Soviets that they are ready to run considerable risks.

At the same time, the situation there is far from satisfactory to the West. As Sen. Mansfield points out, we should not be in the peculiar position of favoring continued occupation of East Germany by Russian forces.

A new look at Berlin is certainly in order. The number of senators who spoke in appreciation of Mansfield's proposal indicates that there are many people in and out of government who realize that the repetition of "no" is not enough.

The legislation introduced for a Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security grows out of Mr. John McCloy's study force and out of persistent efforts by a large group of congressmen led by Rep. Kastenmeier of Wisconsin. It deserves hearty support from Methodists whose General Conference has called for just such increased efforts for world disarmament.

Be sure to note the testimony of Leo Stine of the General Board in behalf of long range economic aid proposals. Public expression of support for such aid is greatly needed at this time.

Finally, the battle over nuclear testing is on in full force. Much of it is behind the scenes, but enough is visible to discern its outlines. Here, again, is an opportunity for public opinion to play an important role.

report from

• Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs

A. Dudley Ward, Board Associate General Secretary in charge of the division

Kirk named director of public affairs

Dr. W. Astor Kirk, former associate professor of government at Huston-Tillotson College, Austin, Tex., has joined the staff of the General Board of Christian Social Concerns. He serves as Director of Public Affairs for the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs.

The appointment was jointly announced by Bishop A. Raymond Grant, chairman of the division, and the Rev. A. Dudley Ward, Associate General Secretary of the Board in charge of the division.

Dr. Kirk is directing the division's legislative program on race, economic life, civil liberties, and church-state problems, and will direct the development of divisional resource materials, leadership training, and various conferences sponsored by the division.

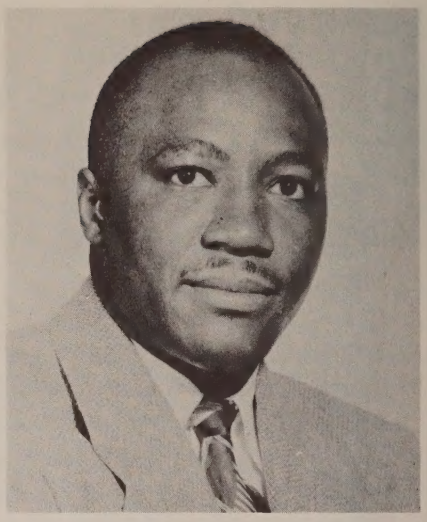
A native of Harleton, Tex., he received the B.A. degree in government from Howard University, Washington, D. C., in 1946, and the M.A. degree from Howard in 1947. In 1958 he received a Ph.D. in government from the University of Texas.

He has also done special research in British public administration, public laws, and political theory at London School of Economics and Political Science. Dr. Kirk has been the recipient of scholarships and fellowships from the Ford Foundation, the Fulbright program, the American Political Science Association, and the Danford Foundation.

Dr. Kirk had taught at Huston-Tillotson since 1947 and earlier held a teaching assistantship at Howard University. He has served as lecturer on American political institutions for U. S. Information Service in London, 1952-53, and as visiting lecturer in social science at Christian Theological Seminary, Butler University.

Besides his duties as professor, Dr. Kirk has wide experience in government and legislative affairs. He has served as a legislative assistant to Sen. Paul H. Douglas and to Rep. Chet Holifield.

He has been a consultant on human rights for the Dallas Chapter of the United Nations Association, a



Dr. Kirk

consultant to the Public Affairs Program of the Ford Foundation, a legislative consultant for the Texas Cooperative Community Education Workshops, and a legislative consultant for the State Teachers Association of Texas.

In addition he is the organizer and director of the Citizenship Education Association of Texas.

A Methodist layman, Dr. Kirk has served as a lay delegate to the 1960 Central Jurisdiction Conference, as a member of the Board of Missions, secretary of the Central Jurisdictional Study Committee, president of West Texas Conference Board of Education, and trustee of the Texas Methodist Student Movement and the University of Texas Wesley Foundation.

MSM conference speaks on social issues

The National Conference of the Methodist Student Movement in its annual meeting in June called for the termination of the House Un-American Activities Committee, opposed federal aid to parochial schools, and scored racial discrimination.

The conference is the policymaking body of the MSM. The meeting was attended by about 80 top student and adult MSM leaders, including national and state officers.

Practices of the House Un-American Activities Committee "are not in keeping with a democratic ideal which promises to protect the rights and liberties of the individual," the conference said. "The approach of any investigating committee which incriminates and tends to establish the guilt of a suspect in the public eye without trial is in violation of our system of justice in which innocence is assumed until guilt is proven."

Though the conference opposed federal aid to parochial schools, it favored it for "public primary and secondary school systems."

Concerning race, the group said: "We implore all persons in the church to speak out and to lend their fullest support to all movements toward integration within the structures of the church at all levels and in all related institutions."

These statements were in a report of the Commission on the Christian Student and Social Order, which was adopted by the group. One section of the report, on communism, said:

"We believe that communism should be met not with blind opposition, and certainly not with panic, but with understanding and insight."

LETTERS

We solicit comments, criticisms and commendations for these columns. We will print, as space allows, portions of all those letters which are significant and signed. Address correspondence to Letters, **Concern**, The Methodist Building, 100 Maryland Avenue Northeast, Washington 2, D. C.

The fight against communism

Dear Sir:

In the June 15 issue of *Concern* I cannot help but take note of the unanimity of opinion expressed by every contributor. You have labeled several groups of citizens who have tried to oppose communism as "right wing extremists."

This label may be justified in some cases, but I think you will agree that the individual members of these organizations are not all bent on ruining reputation and carrying on hate campaigns. These, I believe are in the main, people looking for an effective way of coming to grips with the menace of communism.

The Methodist Church must throw itself into the fight against communism with the same fervor exhibited by some of the "extremists."

A church sponsored education program combined with a program of intelligently directed action will provide a "home" for those of us who are itching to do something about stopping the advance of the "left wing extremists."

Art Smith
Miami, Fla.

Instruments of God

Dear Sir:

I appreciate the efforts being made by you and others to present a perspective on the John Birch Society and other extremist groups. I would like to add a suggestion to Christians concerned about this problem—let us not be, or appear to be, primarily defending ourselves or our institutions.

There is something unseemly in the spectacle of a Christian organization defending itself. The National Council of Churches, for instance, is on stronger Christian ground when it exposes "Operation Abolition" in which the council is not involved personally, than when it discusses the Air Force Manual—though the accusations against the council, made in the manual, are patently untrue.

Similarly our concern for the Birch Society should not arise from the fact that they sometimes attack Methodist ministers or Methodist churches. (A Jewish community leader, who recently spoke in my church on another subject, said that the glory of The Methodist Church is that we draw fire of Birch-style characters.) We should enter this battle, rather, because seeing ourselves as the instruments of God as he has made himself known in Christ, we undertake the suffering which will correct injustice being done to our fellow men.

The Rev. George G. Hill
The Cheshire Methodist Church
Cheshire, Conn.

Christians oppose alcohol

Dear Editor:

I was very happy to read the article by Roger Burgess in the July 1 issue of *Concern*. The Presbyterian statements on alcohol had been a shock to me, and I was afraid The Methodist Church might also knuckle under to King Alcohol. As a matter of fact, I was wondering if leaving The Methodist Church and going into a small denomination was the only way out. Now I can see that we are still Christians instead of a pleasant Country Club organization. Thank you very much.

Mrs. Emma Jean Papenfuss
Berkeley, Calif.

Stumbling Block study

Dear Sir:

I conducted a post card questionnaire last spring among the ministers of the Central Kansas Conference concerning the use of the study book *Stumbling Block*. We have 289 pastoral charges. The ministers report that study classes were held in 177 churches. Not all reported attendance, but those that did counted for 6,348 people. Some 82 pastors taught in whole or in part, and most groups reported use of additional leadership.

Comments from pastors were almost entirely favorable. A few felt they did not reach the people who most needed the information, but the majority thought the effort was most rewarding.

The Rev. Joe Riley Burns
El Dorado, Kan.

...at your service

The Organization of the United Nations, a large, colorful chart showing the complicated organizational set up of the United Nations organization. Available from Literature Headquarters, Woman's Division of Christian Service, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio.

The Negro Educational Review, April, 1961, special issue on the student "sit-ins." This issue contains articles defining the situation, the technique, the implication, and the impact of the sit-in movement.

The Negro Educational Review is a publication which seeks to present 1) scholarly articles and research reports, 2) competent analysis and descriptions of current problems, and 3) significant compilations. It is published during the months of January, April, July, and October. Subscription price is $3.85. Single copies, $1.00. Available from *The Negro Educational Review,* Florida N. and I. M. College, St. Augustine, Fla.

Headline Series, No. 147— *Tropical Africa: Problems and Promises,* by George H. T. Kimble, available from the Foreign Policy Association, World Affairs Center, 345 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y., $.50 per copy.

This issue of *Headline Series* contains a vivid survey of the many changes which are at work in tropical Africa, what these changes mean for its widely different peoples, and what they indicate for the world.

Dr. Kimble is chairman of the Department of Geography at Indiana University and author of a two-volume study, *Tropical Africa,* published in 1960 by the Twentieth Century Fund.

The *Headline Series* is published bimonthly by the Foreign Policy Association. Other issues have included *The United Nations in Crisis* (146), *The Future of Nuclear Tests* (145), *The U. S. and Armaments* (143), *Should the U. S. Change Its China Policy* (129), and *New Directions in U. S. Foreign Economic Policy* (133).

Dateline

(continued from front cover)

the aggressive tendencies of the Communist world."

The Senate Judiciary Committee has reported six of the eight anti-crime bills sent to Congress by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

Three of the major bills reported:

S. 1653 would prohibit interstate travel to promote, manage, or establish an illegal enterprise involving gambling, liquor, narcotics or prostitution.

S. 1654 would broaden the Fugitive Felon Act, which makes it a crime to cross state lines to avoid prosecution or confinement after committing certain crimes, to cover any felony.

S. 1656 would outlaw the use of interstate wire communications to further a gambling business by transmitting bets, betting information, betting proceeds, or for buying betting information.

The House Education and Labor Committee has filed its report on its amendments to the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The NDEA amendments continue and expand the various programs of Government aid to the teaching of science, mathematics and foreign languages, and also authorize a controversial new program of construction loans to private schools.

Although it was expected that the reporting of the NDEA bill with provisions for aid to private schools would loosen up the public school aid bill in the House Rules Committee, prospects for the general public school aid bill remain dim. It remains bottled up by a coalition of Republican, Southern Democrat, and Northern Catholic Democrat members of the powerful Rules group.

The Employment and Manpower Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has approved and sent to the full Committee a bill (S. 404) to establish a Youth Conservation Corps and provide public service employment training for youths.

As approved the bill authorizes a permanent YCC with a maximum yearly membership of 150,000. The Subcommittee rejected a proposal for a smaller, experimental YCC which the Administration had requested as part of a three part youth training program.

In a related development, the General Labor Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee approved the Administration's three part pilot program for youth employment training, as introduced.

President Kennedy is fighting hard for his foreign aid program and Congress is beginning to feel the pressure. The President's intensive campaign has included a series of discussions with small groups of members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees.

Heart of the issue is whether, in the interest of putting a firmer foundation under the loan program, Congress should give up its legislative prerogative of passing annually on all foreign aid requests.

President Kennedy is asking Congress to authorize the executive branch to borrow $7.3 million during the next five years to finance development loans.

A big boost for the program came from President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, during his visit to this country. Pakistan is a recipient of United States foreign aid, and in a hard-hitting speech before a joint session of Congress, the outspoken visitor admonished that "you had better not get tired" of hearing requests for assistance from foreign countries.

"We are pressing against you today as friends. If we make good, I think you will in some fashion get it back. . . . If we do not make good and if, Heaven forbid, we go under communism, then we shall still press against you — but not as friends," said the Pakistani president.

—James Hamilton

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